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The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except in advanced and specialized studies. But as late as 1953, knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in colleges.[11] It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school and college students able to read or speak English has not changed much. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from the junior middle school and primary school curricula.[12] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in East China, but if the curricula[13] for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication then there could not possibly be more than 70,000. As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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11. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao [Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954] Hong Kong, Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien 1954 pp. 98-100.

12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section. Central Committee, Nationalist Party. 1955, p. 16.

13. Total number of senior middle school graduates in China from 1949 to 1953 was 216.000. It is believed that of this number no more than one-third could be in this region. People's Handbook, 1955. pp. 571-73.

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369 practical and otherwise, inducted the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of changed radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been condemmed as impractical and not in keeping with the conditions of modern life

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178 Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better

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citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the Classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, at least it had taught him not to be satisfied with his lot, to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; with their newly-found organizations, came a semblance of a distinct class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families, they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers

11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934; Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey 1839-1923, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

642 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational 871 system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11 of the Nationalist Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

871 Nationalist officials singled out two of the 656 most controversial points for further elaboration.

1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

871 656 One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

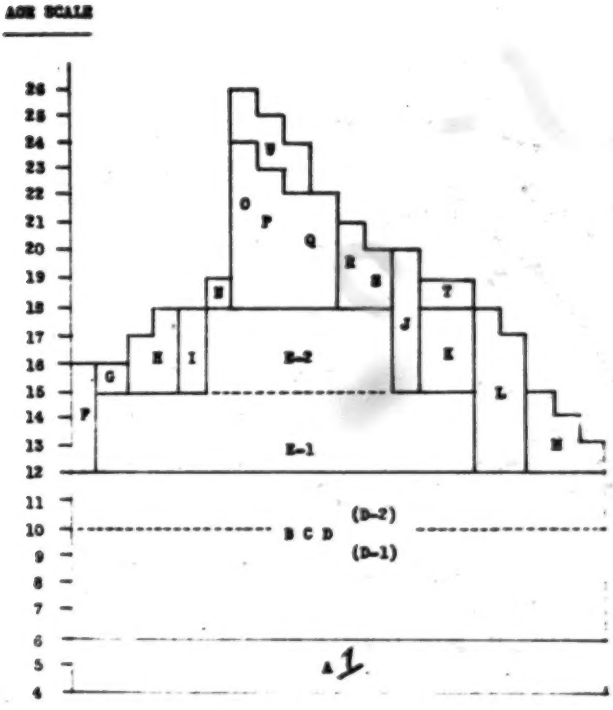
871 Under the Nationalist government efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such peoples as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education), who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features of Nationalist education have been covered in the HRAF Handbook on China as a whole, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war general education in China would have been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the eve of the Communist seizure of power.

The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government

2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China, see Chan-shih Chia-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-chiao-yü she, 1938.

•871 resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart:

CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

1 [No explanation for these letters has been provided -- Analyst]

872 As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year one-level system.

874 Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

•871 By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either had attended

871 or were attending schools.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the Government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

871 In East China, 77 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Other pre-Communist figures on education in East China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime.

[See Table 1. on next page.]

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1, 397-1, 483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948] Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she. 1948, p. 1, 623.

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Table I. Education in East China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Kiangsu	6,619	881,405	465	147,250	(538)	(67,896)
Chekiang	18,527	1,238,300	226	75,489	(1,041)	(30,574)
Anhwei	11,254	826,757	220	56,917	(119)	(25,200)
Shantung	2,311	217,005	78	38,513	(569)	(25,471)
Fukien	5,680	614,139	217	78,268	(93)	(2,306)

* The Education Yearbook of China, 1948 pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions.

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II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

871/642 Mao Tse-tung stated in On New Democracy that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[5] In molding a culture for the "new China," Mao believed that education would be successful if it contained "scientific substance, oriented toward the masses and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[6] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program state that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[7] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to education, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that: "education must be systematicall popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals.[8]

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5. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

6. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-tsê [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953 p. 8.

[continued next page]

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These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or substract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

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7. Comprador - a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China, to have charge of its native employees.

8. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950] Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950 Section B, p. 9.

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•871 Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communist made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles of education.[9] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society as stipulated in the new Constitution."[10]

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences

9. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

10. People's Education, October 1954., p. 13.

871 other than those stemming from socialism. In practice the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

876 Curricular "reform" was among the first sections undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform: were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged the "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricula-reform

876 Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricular "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricular "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels, supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious but their technical quality cannot be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries.[12]

C. Changes in Organization

871 656 Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the education system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Edu-

•871 656 cation, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[13] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[14] (1) the reorganization will ascertain the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educational classes, in the regular school system; in other words, those cadres, soldiers, peasants and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China"; and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

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13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on Public Information and Propaganda and Artistic and Intellectual Expressions. Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she 1954, pp. 218-27.

14. People's Education, October 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major reorganization of schools was completed.[15] However the Communist Vice-Minister of Education Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[16] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization, possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Administrative Council in November 1953 to "restore the old six-year and two-level primary school system." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system."[17]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities as prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[18] The system of education can best be shown in the chart which follows:

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15. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists]. Hong Kong Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.

16. People's Education, January 1954, p. 24.

17. Ibid., p. 8.

18. For detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 41-47.

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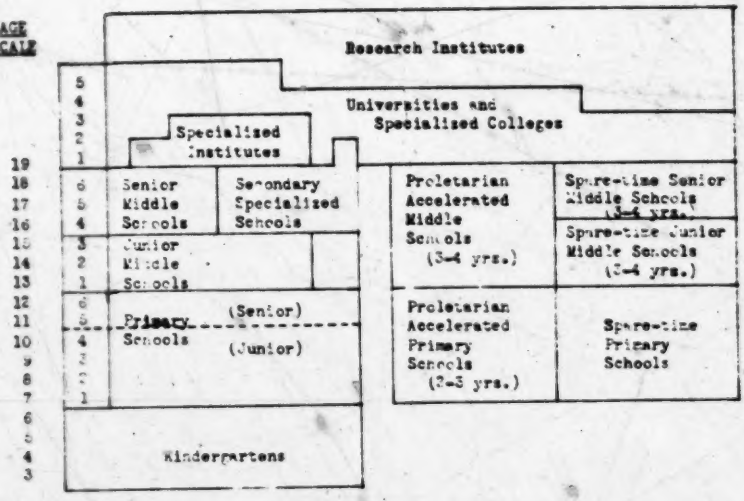
656 AGE SCALE

Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-mei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

(Chart 2 follows p. 317.)

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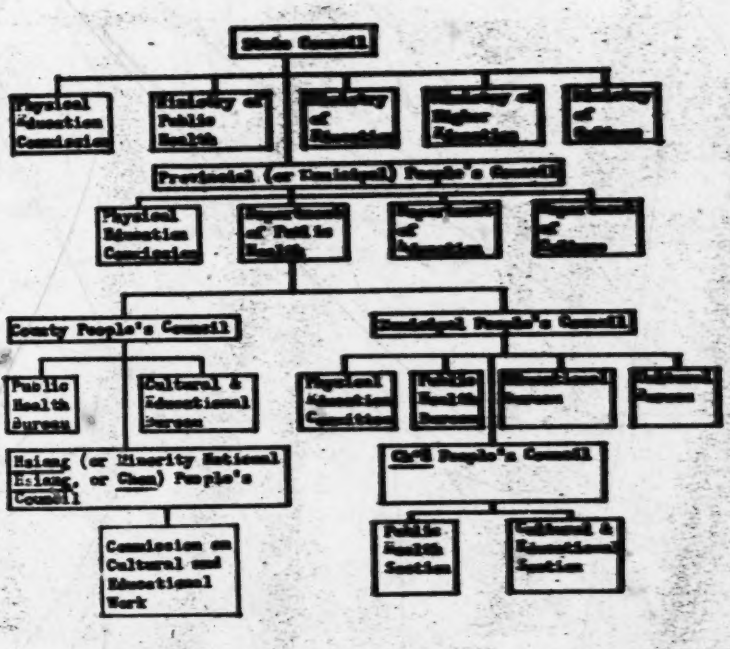
Chart 2. [illegible] */



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 10-11. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

(Chart 3 faces p. 318.)

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Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted:
The two ministries of education function differently in that the Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program. while the Ministry of Education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training s schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools and adult education schools.[19] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council. cul re and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activities" other than education, such as the press, publication, art, drama and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the Government Administration Council indicates the important position its occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is

19. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol I, p. 11.

871 the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[20] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

876 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to

20. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

871 Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[24]

C. Physical Education Movement

871 744 Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of the students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as April 195, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of the students. Tung's delcaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[25] However,

24. See Communist official directives on "labor-education" ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

25. People's Education, August 1954. p. 65.

871 it is obvious that stress on physical exercise
744 alone cannot take the place of an adequate diet.

871 Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the Communists in China. Language reform,[26] important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools and other special training classes for peasants, workers and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

IV. SCHOOLS ON DIFFERENT LEVELS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nation-wide, and subject to only minor regional variations. However a survey of the schools in East China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

872 A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

The development of kindergartens in the East China Region has followed the basic policies

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26. See the chapter on Language in this handbook.

873 hindered the furtherance of their education.

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[64] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

871 ### A. The Character of Communist Education

Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught in these schools. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools with emphasis on the devlopment of technical institutions, are necessary in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-Year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of the publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education in conformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

64. People's Education, Aug. 1953, pp. 31-32.

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876 191 Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Inadequacies in Communist Education

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Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the school in East China. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. In this regard, East China appears to be better off than Central-South or Southwest China. The large-scale construction of school buildings has begun in Hangchow and Shanghai.[66] Lack of financial support for students will cause many to abandon their education, and it is doubtful if government subsidies are sufficient to help many students. Above all, the lack of well-trained administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress in education.

Despite Communist efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of a clear-cut policy leads to the "piracy" of teachers and students. Government agencies in need of technical personnal often call away teachers or students without notifying school authorities. Although there is no recent information on this practice, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Ad-

66. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, November 26, 1954, p. 3.

•871 ministration Council in Peking to issue an order banning such a practice.[67] The East China Press has reported unreasonable demands made upon the time of teachers and students by the government decree that they take part in extra-curricular activities. Each time the government decides to publicize a mass movement, teachers and students are required to help propagandize it. According to one report, one primary school in Hsüan-ch'eng (Anhwei Province) was turned into a "political propaganda team" which held no regular class throughout one fall season.[68]

Until adequate officially-approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to the translating of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. Since such translated works were not written with Chinese students in mind it is doubtful that they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The government's effort to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism, there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will

67. People's Education, August 1951, p. 8.

68. A Liberation Daily report, quoted in The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists. p. 27.

87 not grow among those who have been denied free choice of jobs.

In summary, it should be noted that although the Communis s have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chines educational system, their work is far from accomplished. The attitudes of so many people involved in the system of education cannot be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expediency of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effect upon the qualifications of the graduates. There is no information on the result of the trai ing in East China chools, but reports on schools in other regions seem to indicate that students are less qualified than their predecessors in pre-Communist days; only those educated in larger cities such as Shanghai and Nanking are considered reasonably competent.